The Russians Return—*Paris Cable by Freda Kirchwey*

THE *Nation*

August 5, 1950

Hizzoner, the Cops, and the Bookies

BY ROBERT G. SPIVACK

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Partisans of Neutrality

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

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The Dianetics Book - - - - - - - - *Milton R. Sapirstein*

Who Will Run Mobilization? - - - - - - *Willard Shelton*

Report from Bonn - - - - - - - - - - - - *Carolus*

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

DESPITE GENERAL WALKER'S "STAND OR DIE" order, the United Nations forces in Korea seemed certain early this week to face further withdrawals under the pressure of the numerically superior and hard-fighting North Koreans. The real question was whether, reinforced by the Second Infantry Division, the troops could retire in good order and hold a forty-mile perimeter around Pusan until additional support could arrive or whether "stand or die" units would be cut to ribbons and hurled into the sea. The grim news from the fighting front had its effect, at any rate, on public opinion and in Congress. There was impatience with the moderate economic controls requested by President Truman and a general recognition that the swift reconstruction of our fighting power would require a major national effort.

✶

TWO FACTS WERE EMPHASIZED BEYOND dispute by the figures in the President's Midyear Economic Report. First, the American economy is so highly productive that it can easily provide the goods for any war, big or little. Second, American civilians are already snapping up the goods produced so quickly that even the Korean war cannot be fought without diminishing their present rate of consumption. The only question is whether we shall pay for the war by the inequitable process of price inflation or by a combination of taxation, price control, and rationing of scarce articles. The value of the gross national product is rapidly approaching $275,000,000,000. This total expenditure for goods and services (at 1949 prices) compares with $150,000,000,000 (at the same prices) in 1928—slightly more than in 1939—and $250,000,000,000 in 1949. The extra $10,000,000,000 worth now demanded for the military is less than 4 per cent of the total product. Physical production of American industry is nearly twice as great as before the war. More than 61,000,000 workers now have jobs, and unemployment has shrunk to less than 3,500,000, or about 5 per cent of the labor force. Output per man-hour in the first half of 1950 was about 75 per cent greater than in 1929 and higher than in any year since then. If, as is expected, this growth in productivity continues at the rate of 2½ per cent a year, compounded, and unemployment is reduced to an absolute minimum, future production possibilities are literally almost unlimited. If the gigantic American economy exerts its full industrial potential for war, an enemy faces a grim prospect.

✶

YET THE DEMAND FOR CIVILIAN GOODS is so great that even before hostilities broke out there were shortages of many critical materials, such as steel, copper, rubber, zinc, tin, and aluminum. The demand had sharply raised the prices of many of these materials before the end of June and the daily index of prices of twenty-eight "sensitive" commodities has increased 10 per cent in the four weeks after June 23. Both wholesale and retail prices are now mounting rapidly. There will be no limit to this rise while purchasers have the money to buy, and they will want to continue to buy as long as they expect further price increases. The actions already taken and recommended by the President are essential but not sufficient. The materials needed by defense industries must be assured them by allocations. More money must be taken from the taxpayers, so that increased government spending will not expand the total demand for insufficient supplies. Credit for houses, automobiles, and other goods which take these supplies must be restricted. What is lacking is the price control and rationing necessary to distribute the available goods fairly to civilians. There will still be immense quantities of these goods—but not enough to supply the demands of hoarders and speculators without sharp increases in the cost of living. The machinery for effective price control cannot be improvised over night, but we shall only weaken ourselves by the inflation which will probably occur before it is applied. A mere threat to apply it, accompanied by moral appeals to stop hoarding, is, in effect, a signal to hoarders and speculators to make hay while the sun shines. The capstone of the economic war planning will be missing unless the Administrator announces at once that prices will not only be frozen but rolled back to the level existing before war speculation started.

✶

THE CHARMING FRENCH SEASIDE TOWN OF Biarritz was the scene of a curious nocturnal assembly on July 12. At two o'clock in the morning car after car drew up before a luxurious villa in the suburbs. Many of them bore Portuguese license plates. Among

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almost a hundred visitors vigilant observers noticed some well-known silhouettes of Spanish nobility—those of the Dukes of Alba and Baeza, Count Rodezo, and other prominent monarchists—as well as the robes of two high dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church. The hostess for the gathering was none other than Victoria Eugenia, widow of Alfonso XIII. It is fair to assume from all this mysterious coming and going that there will be a renewed monarchist attempt, taking advantage of the Korean crisis, to force Franco to step aside in favor of a regime more palatable to the Western democracies—a regime that would facilitate the inclusion of Spain in Western military plans.

*

AFTER YEARS OF SULKING IN SEPARATE tents leaders of organized labor are beginning to get somewhere in efforts toward common goals. A joint C. I. O.–A. F. of L. committee has agreed in principle to cooperation in the legislative (lobbying) and political (election) fields, a subcommittee has been named to plan further steps, and the prospect is good for a no-raiding agreement that would reduce troublesome and wasteful competitive organizing campaigns. The benefits to the nation are likely to be as substantial as those to labor, for the millions organized in unions are potentially the country's largest political force. As labor continues its education in public affairs and acquires skill in political techniques, it should have a significant influence on future elections. Labor is of course fundamentally a pressure group, but many of its interests coincide with those of the country as a whole —a steady expansion of earning capacity, the maintenance of economic stability, a better distribution of both political and industrial responsibility. Joint C. I. O–A. F. of L. action has already resulted in appointment of labor advisers to the National Security Resources Board and the promise that the viewpoints of labor and farm groups, as well as of business leaders, will be heeded in the NSRB's high councils. Agreement at top levels should make it easier for various union political committees to cooperate effectively in local areas, as they did in 1948 in Massachusetts and Tennessee with remarkable results. Even in this off-year it is important to get out a large vote in order to elect a more progressive Congress.

*

THE ENTRY OF MISSISSIPPI HOODLUMS INTO the sordid struggle over the tired body of Willie McGee must provide millions of "gooks" throughout Asia with food for thought. (Eight Chinese Communist organizations have cabled protests to President Truman about the McGee case.) For five years, the state of Mississippi has been trying to execute McGee, a thirty-seven-year-old Negro, for "raping" a white

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woman who has admitted that at the moment in question an ill child was in bed with her and her husband was in the next room. And for the best part of five years the Communist Party, the Civil Rights Congress, and various supporting newspapers have fought strenuously in McGee's defense and three times played a strong part in securing last-minute reprieves. In the process they have also made enormous capital of the affair in headlines, mass-meetings, funds, and violent incidents. Last week Supreme Court Justice Harold R. Burton wisely granted the latest stay of execution until the full court meets in the fall and can rule on a petition for review of the case. But on the previous evening a Chicago member of the C. R. C. and a white Mississippian serving as one of McGee's attorneys were set upon by a local mob at the Jackson airport as they left for Washington to plead before Justice Burton. In addition, a C. R. C. officer who the day before had argued loudly but futilely before Governor Fielding Wright in McGee's behalf was beaten up by a group of men who invaded his hotel room. And a reporter from the New York *Daily Compass* was assaulted by still another gang and then hustled out of town by the police. The quasi-official support of these attacks may be inferred from a question asked by the Jackson *Daily News* in a front-page editorial a week earlier: "Why the hell go to Korea to shoot Communists when the hunting is good on home grounds?" Are you listening, Korea? Are you listening, "gooks"?

The Russians Return

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

Paris, July 30

THE furious debate about Russia's motive in returning to the Security Council and its probable strategy there will be partly settled by the time these lines are read. It has dominated the press here for three days, competing successfully with Korea and the battle of the workers versus the King next door in Belgium. No consensus of opinion is evident except on one point, that Russia holds several high cards and can choose which one to play. The United States may hail the Soviet about-face as a victory for American–United Nations policy, and so it was, but if any good result is to be gained it will have to do more than crow. We must hope that the State Department will use Russia's tactical retreat as the occasion for a serious attempt to end the fighting in Korea on terms that will protect its own stand against aggression and still give Moscow a way out if it wants one.

The impression among some very well-informed persons here with whom I have talked is that the Russians were completely surprised by the American reaction; earlier official declarations, such as those quoted by Walter Lippmann several days ago, had convinced them that the United States had no intention of defending South Korea in case of attack. Now, according to these sources, Russia would like to end the business despite North Korean successes rather than see it develop into a struggle which might spread to China and thence to the Soviet Union itself. Whether or not this view is correct, the United States would do itself no harm, but on the contrary would demonstrate its desire for an honorable peace, if it would seize the initiative by proposing in the Security Council, one, an immediate cease fire; two, withdrawal of the North Koreans to the Thirty-eighth Parallel; three, withdrawal of the United States–U. N. forces as soon as number two was accomplished; four, appointment of a special U. N. commission to supervise the ending of hostilities and to prepare for later negotiations looking toward unification and democratically controlled elections for the entire country. One cannot hope that such a proposal would be swallowed whole by the Russians; it would doubtless produce a set of counter-proposals. But whatever the practical result, it would establish the will for peace of the United States and acknowledge in a decorous fashion the need of a new deal for Korea—in the south as well as the north.

A plan such as this would also enable Washington to offer to end the blockade of Formosa if its terms were accepted. In the New York *Times* last week James Reston reported that Mr. Truman's naval patrol around the Nationalist stronghold "had antagonized the Chinese Communists against Chiang Kai-shek." This is putting the matter far too mildly. The American move has also alarmed or antagonized a large part of the press and the vocal public on this continent and in England. It is widely regarded as an open challenge to Peking. So pro-American and sober a journal as the London *Observer* today remarked:

> A Chinese invasion of Formosa would automatically result in immediate Chinese-American hostilities. Such a war, involving America in an interminable commitment while leaving Russia uncommitted, would suit the Kremlin ideally. Moreover, India and Pakistan would almost certainly sympathize with China, and Britain would be forced to choose between America and the Asian dominions, besides being somewhat divided over the question at home. Both the United Nations and the Commonwealth would be split from top to bottom.

The *Observer* then suggests without much conviction that Britain might try to induce Peking to agree to the temporary neutralization of Formosa.

I have heard many less friendly comments on America's Formosa policy from Socialists and independent leftists here and in Brussels this past week. Certainly, if war with China should spring from this ill-considered action we would lose the sympathy not only of Asia but of millions of Europeans who regard Russia as a looming threat but have no stomach whatever for a war precipitated by our readiness to intervene without bothering

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to consult either our allies or the United Nations. Americans should not minimize the degree to which such acts are feared and resented in Europe even among those who also look to us for protection. This feeling is going to affect the fate of the world quite as much as other more obvious and more material factors.

If Mr. Austin should fail to come up with positive proposals in the Security Council, we can assume that Mr. Malik will take on the job. Presumably he will start by moving the unseating of Nationalist China. With Chiang's representative gone he is likely to offer various apparently reasonable suggestions aimed toward peace, counting on the United States to oppose and the U. N. to vote them down. This tactic has been used before, often with good effect. It cannot be countered merely by aspersions on Russia's good faith. Soviet intentions may be bad, but its proposals must be considered on their merits unless we are ready to quit considering proposals altogether and plunge into general war. Since we are evidently not ready for that, either materially or in any other way, we can effectively deal with Russian offers only by examining them, uncovering any hidden booby-traps, agreeing to what is reasonable as we would in the case of another power, and countering what is unacceptable with a sound proposal of our own. Today our habitual attitude of automatic opposition—we have the votes, so why bother to argue—is simply not good enough. This is clear from the vantage point of Europe, if not in Lake Success. Today we must prove patiently and seriously that we are as ready to seek agreement as we are to resist aggression.

The People, Yes

July 31

AT BRUSSELS the day the King returned I was told by at least three top Socialist leaders that no insurrection—not even a general strike—was at all likely. Today the Walloon country is in virtual rebellion, violence rules in the mining and industrial areas, and a march on the capital may bring clashes with the army before nightfall. The week will show whether or not civil war is to engulf a country until now one of the most stable and prosperous in Western Europe. The meaning of this sequence of events should be studied by left and right alike, nor should the belated appearance of the Communists be allowed to confuse the issue. In a narrower perspective, of course, it reflects the criminal recklessness of a man who would be king only for personal power, rejecting all reasonable compromises and risking his country's security to gain his end. More broadly the struggle in Belgium shows how little even the leaders realize the lengths to which free people will go once they feel their rights have been abused. Rebellion is not a commodity monopolized by the Communists. The Belgian workers, comfortable by European standards and overwhelmingly Socialist in politics, have started an action which today frightens their own leaders as well as the government. It may be put down in blood or ended by the creation of a formula for Leopold's abdication by the Cabinet, which has been in session all night. But it stands as a warning to those who believe everything is settled in government or party offices. F. K.

Who Will Run Mobilization?

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, July 27

DESPITE some futile palace politics and planted news stories designed to undermine him as chairman of the National Security Resources Board, W. Stuart Symington is likely to become a key figure in America's new war mobilization. Secretary of Commerce Sawyer expects the priorities and allocations job, but the question of who will set high policy and then umpire disputes between various government agencies competing for materials, production, and man-power has not been decided.

By statute the NSRB is the planning group, and the power to umpire disputes is likely to gravitate to it. It is possible, of course, that a special emergency agency will be set up—a method which Mr. Truman dislikes in principle—or that major disputes will be settled in the White House, which would delight some clutching White House familiars but again is out of harmony with the President's way of doing things. As chairman of the Senate committee to investigate the defense program, Mr. Truman learned to dislike Roosevelt's technique of proliferating agencies and then deciding most policy matters himself. Symington, therefore, seems destined to become the Donald Nelson, or at least the Knudsen-Hillman, of the mobilization drive.

His obvious assets are an industrial background, a habit of getting along with labor unions, experience as civilian head of the air forces, pretty good relations on Capitol Hill—he is a son-in-law of the veteran New York Republican Representative James W. Wadsworth—and more social intelligence than most business men who were pro-Dewey Republicans around 1940. In advance of the Korean crisis he spoke impatiently in private about the industrialist groups whose chief interest

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in hypothetical mobilization plans was: "What's in it for us?" In addition, he is thoroughly loyal to the President and, while he has brains, is free of the surface brilliance that sometimes seems to make Mr. Truman uncomfortable. The measure of his toughness and imagination will be revealed as specific issues arise to harry him while he charts a course between the Baruch program for conscripting the whole economy, business as usual, and the attempts of the military to grab the country for themselves and Louis Johnson's successor.

A good many observers, in Congress and out, think there was too much business-as-usual psychology in the President's inflation-control program, and the view was reflected in the one-vote margin by which the House Banking Committee barely rejected Baruch's total-mobilization plan. While Mr. Truman aroused a certain amount of Congressional opposition by his demand for industry-control powers—somebody always suspects a plot to "nationalize industry"—he seemed strangely in accord with Senator Taft in rejecting immediate price and wage controls. He pinned his faith on credit controls and new taxes to take up excess purchasing power and asked labor to avoid wage demands that would "lead to another inflationary spiral." But prices were already climbing sharply before the Korean war, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics today reported a 13 per cent jump in wholesale prices since June 25. Obviously labor cannot forgo wage increases and agree to a no-strike pledge in vital industries, as the President in effect requested, if living costs are allowed to skyrocket.

The superficial agreement between Truman and Taft cannot last long. The "sophisticates" in the executive agencies are now pretty well agreed that warm-war mobilization, coupled with hot war in Korea, cannot be run by the old-line agencies alone and that partial controls will not work. Price-fixing at the manufacturers' and wholesale level, and probably at the retail level, is necessary to save the economy. The target date for full-scale controls is some time this fall, perhaps as early as Labor Day.

One formula for wage control suggested to the Administration is to tie wages directly to living costs, with workers granted in addition an annual 3 per cent raise in line with anticipated increases in productivity. This is pretty close to the formula of the C. I. O. United Automobile Workers' contract with General Motors; the interesting thing is that an A. F. of L. spokesman advanced the suggestion to the government. Obviously there would have to be a labor board with power to correct inequities, compel anti-union employers to bargain collectively, study grievances, and perhaps set the exact figure each year for the productivity increment. This formula, coupled with a technique for safeguarding pension and seniority rights of workers asked to move from non-essential to essential industry, would meet labor's minimum needs. In both C. I. O. and A. F. of L. circles realists understand that price controls without wage controls are impossible and that the longer price controls are delayed the worse labor's relative position will be.

Seligson
W. Stuart Symington

The President's failure to ask for an excess-profits-tax law was believed due to the realization that it takes time to work out a fair formula, but the disappointment among Congressional liberals was outspoken. Politically, of course, Mr. Truman showed courage in concentrating on higher personal income taxes, which will hit the mass of the voters, and corporation levies, which will estrange recipients of dividends, but it is unthinkable that an excess-profits tax should be long delayed. The country needs the money, and in principle it is abhorrent for business to make above-normal profits from the social enterprise of mobilization in a democracy.

COMPARING conditions today with those in 1940, when France fell, it is fair to say that we seem likely to move faster and more skilfully to meet an international menace than we did ten years ago. There are people in government who know a great deal about mobilization on both the civilian and the military front. Washington has been cheered by the assurance that ground forces from Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Turkey, Thailand, and other nations will reinforce the thin United States line in Korea. Responsible officials have strong hopes that Liaquat Ali Khan will send Pakistani troops to fight under General MacArthur; this would be politically of great importance in countering the fierce misrepresentation of American action in Korea as "imperialism."

The ingredient which thus far seems missing in the capital is the kind of creative imagination that in 1941 developed the Lend-Lease program. While pushing our own rearmament we are asking our strongest potential allies to modify their domestic policies and give their people more guns and less butter. Few of them have had much butter for a decade, and anything they put into armaments must come from economies which have not yet recovered from the last war or have never been fully developed. One of the ablest planners in the ex-

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ecutive branch believes that Mr. Truman should immediately ask Congress for an extra five billion dollars, over and above Marshall Plan funds, for outright grants to further the swift development of power, transport, steel, and mining facilities in Britain, France, Italy, India, and other countries. He was not thinking of Point Four funds or of pilot investments in fringe areas, but of huge exports of money and man-power to "give the people who want to work with us something to work with, to give new hope to those who are of greatest value as allies." Such a program would add to the drain on our economy, intensify shortages of labor and goods, compel stringent economic controls, but it would reveal clear American understanding of what must be done to give free peoples elsewhere a new impetus toward better living standards and stronger defenses. When this official was told that his proposal was the first indication of creative thinking in high government circles, he replied: "I don't want to give you a glimmer of encouragement. You are looking at a disgusted man who finds many agreeing with the idea but no one who will do anything about it."

The Partisans of Neutrality

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, July 25

A LIVELY discussion has been going on in France for some time between the Partisans of Peace, the official name of the signers of the Stockholm petition, and a heterogeneous and unorganized group who might be called the Partisans of Neutrality. The views of this group first found expression in a series of articles published in the conservative newspaper *Le Monde*. They drew sharp criticism from both the extreme right and the extreme left and caused people who advocated the rapid rearmament of Western Europe in conformity with the Atlantic Pact to accuse *Le Monde* of being the "spokesman of defeatism." The original articles were contributed by intellectuals of various sorts: some were military experts; one of the most distinguished was the erudite Catholic historian Etienne Gilson. Soon other papers took part in the debate. André Siegfried and François Mauriac wrote at some length in *Figaro*, the other big conservative Paris daily; Claude Bourdet's weekly *Observateur* dedicated a special issue to the subject, discussing it from the point of view of the independent left.

M. Gilson based his argument for neutrality on the weaknesses of the Atlantic Pact, but a second reading of his articles shows that it was not the pact itself which he condemned or even its confirmation of the division of the world into two antagonistic blocs but the inadequate military guaranties offered to France, which was expected to ally itself actively with the United States against Russia. In suggesting that France should be neutral M. Gilson did not mean it should lay down its arms. Europe, he said in his first article (March 2, 1949), could be neutral only if it was strong. A year later the controversy was still raging, and *Le Monde* ran a series of articles on the Swiss army, which was described as the model instrument for a policy of neutrality.

The possibility of having to use force was by no means excluded by the proponents of this doctrine. If Russia should attack or invade France, it would be necessary of course to declare war. On the other hand, France must not allow the Kremlin to think that it was being converted into a cornerstone of the anti-Russia strategy projected for Europe under the direction of Washington.

The neutrality campaign cannot be disregarded as motivated simply by the hypersensitiveness of a group of intellectuals to the horrors of the atomic bomb. It stems from a realization of Western Europe's desperate situation, and as soon as its supporters recovered from the psychological shock of the Korean aggression, they resumed their efforts to put the idea across. M. Gilson wrote in *Le Monde* of July 21:

> We shall insist again and again that one must never adopt a policy unless one has the means to carry it out. Those who have no means can therefore have no policy, and there is no excuse for their pretending to have one.

On the next day *Le Monde's* leading editorial—not signed but evidently, to judge from its caustic style, by the paper's editor, M. Beuve-Mery—said:

> The quality and amount of Europe's contribution depend on the policies pursued by the various countries within their own borders. Is it possible, for example, for us to ignore the deficit of the railroads, which approaches 110 billion francs a year, or the demands of social welfare and reconstruction?

This comment, by a conservative newspaper, appears to be directed at those groups which complacently imagine that Point 4 can be set aside indefinitely while preparations are made for war. Some people seem to think you need only an army to combat an adversary who has at his disposal both an army and a revolutionary program, with its tremendous appeal to the masses even

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if its content is questionable. The statement made in connection with the Korean war, "Agrarian reform is worth ten divisions," is echoed throughout Europe.

IN AMERICA it may be possible to combine rearmament with maintenance of the living standards to which the people are accustomed. It is not in Europe. And the fact that the unlimited rearmament required by the "total strategy" which Washington will direct is bound to check recovery, to destroy the prosperity just beginning to appear in countries devastated by the war, is a powerful weapon in the campaign for neutrality. The Communists understand this very well, and the agile columnist of *L'Humanité*, Pierre Courtade, quickly broke off a discourse on the fundamental causes of the Asian crisis to say to the French housewife: "Goodby to frigidaires."

The Socialists are greatly worried. They consented to enter the Pleven Cabinet, by their own account, in order to wrest better living conditions for the hard-pressed workers and middle class from the greedy capitalists who controlled the French government. Now they find themselves forced to vote to increase military expenditures by 80 billion francs, because the new Minister of Defense, Jules Moch, is, as was demonstrated in the recent ministerial crisis, the party's real head. On July 24 *Le Populaire*, organ of the party, attacked the French politicians who have forgotten Point 4 and believe that the money for new arms, for the war in Indo-China, for the approaching general war, for America's "total strategy" should come out of the stockings of the "little people." It said:

> Social progress, a guaranteed minimum standard of life, reconstruction, full employment—say our good apostles—come afterward; national defense must be placed first. But the country's military security will not be assured if the workers must pay the whole bill.

Moreover, *Le Populaire* insisted, to support such a policy would be to play the game of the Communists. At the last Socialist Party congress André Philip said that "the bomb which was more to be feared than the atomic bomb was hunger."

But even if the workers were not the ones who must pay for national defense, even if the tax burden and the other costs of rearming to the extent and with the swiftness recommended a few days ago by the Western chiefs of staff should be equitably divided among all classes, it is extremely doubtful that France is strong enough economically to make the new effort now demanded of it. As I write, the Defense, Financial, and Economic Committees of the Atlantic nations are working feverishly in London on the problem of how to rearm Western Europe without ruining the long-term recovery projects of the Marshall Plan countries. For the whole theory of the plan, from the day it was announced by General Marshall, has been that placing the nations of Europe on a solid economic foundation is the most effective way to block the advance of communism. No authoritative French economist believes that France can undertake military preparations on a scale to meet the desires of President Truman without suffering dangerous inflation. It is conservatively calculated that the French budget for military expenses, already very large, would have to be increased 25 per cent. In financial circles the Pleven government has been named "the inflation government."

THE partisans of "armed neutrality" argue that the military policy they propose—the creation of a French army modeled after the Swiss or Swedish army, to be used solely for the defense of France or of Western Europe against attack—could be pursued without jeopardizing recovery or preventing the attainment of a decent standard of life. But the "neutralists" are also influenced by non-economic considerations. Before war broke out in Korea they often said, "Let the United States and Russia fight it out if they want to." M. Gilson, who is about as much a Communist as I am a Baptist, even wrote that war was less necessary for Russia as an instrument of policy than for the United States. Russia, he said, was engaged in a gigantic experiment whose success depended on a long period of peace and stability, and it would therefore not resort to war unless it found itself cornered, hemmed in on all sides—especially since the Kremlin was convinced that capitalism contained the seeds of its own destruction.

This was written before Korea. Naturally when the situation exploded there, the opponents of neutrality fell upon M. Gilson and all who shared his opinions. At first they daily awaited word of an attack on Yugoslavia, Iran, Afghanistan, or Germany. Then they emphasized the enormous disproportion in strength between East and West—the East having 102 divisions, of which 22 were armored, and the West 16. Russia, in addition, could put 3,000 fighter planes and from 400 to 600 heavy bombers in action immediately and could soon increase the number. Why, then, ask the proponents of neutrality, does Russia not attack? Winston Churchill has an answer—the atomic bomb. J. J. Servan-Schreiber, one of the principal particpants in the debate, offers another explanation. He is not, however, one of the neutralists and has attacked them for weakening the "West's ability to resist."

In a much-discussed article in *Le Monde* of July 22 this able journalist reexamined the aims of Russian strategy in the light of what has happened in Korea. He concluded that the Kremlin's purpose is not to win a military victory over the United States, in a war which would destroy at the same time all the achievements of

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the Stalin regime, or to bring about the economic disintegration of the United States, in which—for all its talk of crisis in America—it does not really believe, but *to isolate the United States.* It seeks to accomplish this by creating a situation in which American policy will be in conflict with that of other nations, not as to the goal—the desire to stop the advance of communism and of Russia will still be unanimous—but as to the method of attaining it. Can Russia succeed in isolating the United States? M. Schreiber thinks it may, for two reasons—the blindness of the Americans and the impotence of the Europeans. He says:

> If America falls into the trap and engages in hostilities with China, all Asia will pass under the control of Moscow. If Europe continues to show the passive mentality of a spectator and is incapable of making a serious effort at rearmament until America arrives to incorporate European troops in its own and to give Europe orders, conditions will be ripe here for a civil war. Since America cannot occupy and organize Asia and Europe at the same time, it will lose both. And the object of the Soviets will have been attained.

I have purposely stressed the "neutralism of the right" so that nobody could believe this is another movement indirectly inspired by the Communists. But just as important is the "neutralism of the left," represented by such persons and groups as Claude Bourdet, editor of *L'Observateur*; the Executive Committee of Chrétiens Progressistes; Gauche Independente, which in the National Assembly has a small but distinguished group of deputies head by d'Aragon; and the former director of the Musée de l'Homme, Paul Rivet, a deputy who broke with the Socialist Party chiefly on Indo-China. The position of the neutralists of the left can be summarized like this: Let us create a strong Europe, united along Socialist lines, led by genuine progressive governments offering something worth fighting for. Such a Europe would have an army on the Swiss model ready to meet any attempt at military or political subjugation no matter from where it came. Meanwhile it would not support international policies directed against either Russia or the West but on the contrary would hope to serve as a medium of conciliation.

The conservatives among the French partisans of neutrality have no ideological quarrel with the United States, whose economic and political system they greatly admire. They simply fear the impetuosity and improvisations of American leadership. The leftists fear the political control of Europe by the United States, believing that it would keep reaction in power everywhere for many years

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An error in the transmission of my dispatch in the issue of July 15 caused me to refer to Jean Rous of *Franc-Tireur* as a journalist of "more independence than judgment." With apologies to M. Rous, I must record here that what I wrote was that he was "a Socialist journalist of independence and excellent judgment."—J. A. DEL V.

Hizzoner, the Cops, and the Bookies

BY ROBERT G. SPIVACK

AN HONEST politician, remarked a sage, is a man who, once bought, stays bought. In that sense New York City now has the most honest government it has ever had.

But the old-fashioned notion somehow persists that public servants are supposed to serve the commonweal, and every so often some dangerous character comes along who insists on rigid adherence to this belief. Such a figure is Newbold Morris, wealthy descendant of Revolutionary ancestors, who expounded the homely virtues in last fall's mayoralty campaign. Running as a coalition candidate, Morris made several serious charges. The underworld, he said, had important friends in the city government. Mayor William O'Dwyer refused to go after the racketeers and would not even mention Frank Costello by name, although the mayors of Los Angeles, New Orleans, and other big cities were trying to break the gambling czar's political grip. Morris even made public a list of 124 horse rooms and betting parlors operating in a relatively small section of Brooklyn with the full knowledge of the Police Department.

Morris's charges brought forth raucous laughter from many quarters. O'Dwyer's campaign committee inserted an advertisement in the newspapers paraphrasing a current song hit: "Drop that gun, Newie," it said in large type; "You're shooting blanks." Some of the city's distinguished liberals and labor leaders, in other paid advertisements, declared naively that they "resented" this "smear" against a great mayor.

Morris was beaten by about 300,000 votes, but, more quickly than such things usually happen, subsequent events began to verify his statements. And by one of those little historical ironies that sometimes confound us, a Democratic Brooklyn district attorney, occupying the office once held by O'Dwyer himself, appears to be cast in

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the role of backing up Morris's campaign charges. The investigation of organized crime in Brooklyn being conducted by Prosecutor Miles F. McDonald may turn out to be the springboard for a new Seabury-type investigation of the New York City administration. It has not yet gone this far, but McDonald is a stubborn man, and the more O'Dwyer and other members of his administration try to hamper the probe, the more determined McDonald will be to continue.

THE inquiry was started last December but has been featured in the news only in the last few months. Still in its initial stages, it has already confirmed most of what Morris said last fall and has uncovered some shocking new facts. McDonald has found high-ranking police officers "borrowing" money from big gamblers who, by coincidence no doubt, have free run of the precinct where the borrowers "enforce" the law. He is delving into the payment of protection money, or "ice," on a weekly basis to inspectors and other police officials. But he is getting very little encouragement from City Hall and practically none from the Police Commissioner, William O'Brien, and his chief lieutenants. The explanation for their coolness is not difficult to find.

It is reported that about eighteen months ago three high police officers formed a silent partnership with Joe Adonis, king of the Brooklyn underworld, to put a bankrupt bookmaker back into business. This particular bookmaker handled a large number of baseball bets. He ran into difficulties last year when some bettors had an exceptional streak of luck. He did not welch, and the transaction cost him $100,000 and bankrupted him. The three police officers, according to reliable information, were so friendly with the despondent bookie that they asked Adonis to help him. Adonis, who likes to have the law on his side even though he may not always stay within it, obliged. McDonald is believed to be digging into the story, and if his efforts are fruitful, the Mayor may find himself in an embarrassing position. O'Dwyer has virtually underwritten the good behavior of the three police officers alleged to be involved and has often been photographed in their company.

The Mayor, as all New Yorkers know, has made a *cause célèbre* out of the recent suicide of Police Captain John G. Flynn, who shot himself with his service revolver three weeks after he had been interrogated by McDonald's grand jury. Blasting the "Hitlerian" tactics of McDonald's "witch hunt," Mr. O'Dwyer defended Flynn as a "good cop" and attended his funeral along with 6,000 members of the force, who marched "in silent protest." Flynn's death may or may not have been connected with McDonald's investigation. In a suicide note he simply wrote that he had been depressed about "headaches" in his precinct. If Flynn was involved with gamblers, the Mayor made a martyr of a crooked cop. If he was not, then it is of course possible that he was hounded into suicide by the grand jury's questions. But whatever the facts, the Mayor has rather skilfully placed the onus for his death upon McDonald without any knowledge of what questions and answers were exchanged between Flynn and the members of the grand jury. In short, he has done his best, publicly and dramatically, to discredit the inquiry.

Mayor O'Dwyer

A thorough investigation of gambling in a city like New York encounters almost insurmountable difficulties. Any well-informed citizen can place an illegal bet—just as he can be directed to a dope-peddler or an itinerant prostitute—but collecting courtroom evidence is another matter. An honest cop must catch the bookie with a slip of paper on which the bettor's race-track choices are clearly marked. Bookies are a sharp lot and under most circumstances can cover up—they may even swallow the betting slips. When McDonald got started, he found that too many times when a raid was about to take place the bookmaker knew about it in advance from police sources. So he asked for a special detail of uncorrupted rookie cops, including some men still on probation. The Police Department at first was reluctant to comply. When newspaper pressure got too strong, it capitulated, but the men assigned to McDonald are subjected to all sorts of harassment. Some get their week's pay with "rat" written on the envelope by fellow-officers. One police officer who had done this sort of thing before is reliably reported to have tapped the prosecutor's own telephone. McDonald himself has said that policemen have been assigned to "tail" his detectives and presumably to tip off the gamblers when a raid is coming.

The district attorneys of the Bronx, Queens, and Richmond have been somewhat less than vigilant in inquiring into the operations of gambling rings. District Attorney Hogan of Manhattan recently raided the offices of the nation's most prominent bookmaker, Frank Erickson, arrested him, and forced him to plead guilty to a charge of bookmaking—but only after Erickson himself had testified in Washington that he was conducting an illegal business. Although Erickson is by far the biggest catch in any of the several gambling investiga-

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tions now under way in Washington and New York, the political ramifications of his $12,500,000 gross "take" are apparently not going to be examined too closely.

Hogan still entertains political ambitions, and a thorough investigation would inevitably lead to the high levels of the city's Democratic machines, to the courts, and to the Police Department. He is an honest man but seems afraid to come to grips with the city government. McDonald, for his part, has quietly and efficiently gone ahead with his probe in the face of tremendous obstacles. He has told friends that he is not going to have his reputation besmirched by his own negligence—as so many Brooklyn district attorneys have done.

THE explanation for what is now going on dates back to the Morris-O'Dwyer campaign. While Morris was attacking the whole Democratic machine, the Fusion candidate for borough president of Brooklyn, Abe Stark, a well-liked clothing merchant new at politics, was striking hard at the Brooklyn Tammany organization. Stark charged laxity in Borough President John Cashmore's office and in the district attorney's office. (Cashmore until last week was also the Democratic boss of Kings County.) After the campaign the Brooklyn *Eagle,* one of the few New York papers to support O'Dwyer, did some investigating of its own and discovered police corruption and gambling operations on a huge scale in the borough. The cumulative effect of the Morris, Stark, and *Eagle* charges was an impressive picture of official dishonesty at the top levels. McDonald and Cashmore were greatly disturbed because both were being attacked for the actions of their political associates. While Cashmore may have winked at what went on, his personal honesty has never been questioned. McDonald has been the exemplary public servant to whom the ward-heelers point as the type favored by the political machine.

When the investigation started, Cashmore sent word to the District Attorney that there would be no political interference. As evidence of his good faith Cashmore forced a reluctant Board of Estimate to grant McDonald's request for $60,000 to finance the probe. O'Dwyer is so furious with Cashmore that he has virtually forced Cashmore out of the Democratic leadership by cutting off all City Hall patronage.

With McDonald hitting pay dirt, the failure of Republican Governor Dewey, once a racket-buster himself, to investigate the allegations of corruption in the New York City government is a mystery to many. Dewey has declared that he cannot act without formal complaint which includes evidence. His statements are of course a blind. Were he inclined to act, the evidence that has been uncovered by newspapers would be sufficient justification. Malcolm Johnson of the New York *Sun* won a Pulitzer prize for his revelations of crime on the waterfront. In 1947 the New York *Post* exposed the corruption in the Department of Marine and Aviation. District Attorney Hogan of Manhattan has found graft in the letting of paint contracts; the purchasing procedures of the Board of Education have been questioned. The full story of the strange Dewey-O'Dwyer relations may never be told until a new Samuel Seabury undertakes the job that is crying to be done.

As their alliance has worked out, Dewey has reaped all the benefits and O'Dwyer the censure. Holding the threat of an investigation over his head, Dewey has summoned O'Dwyer to Albany many times to enlist his support for some project not favored by the Democrats. The mayor of the world's largest city has regularly journeyed to the state capital to get his instructions. This year Dewey wanted O'Dwyer's support for a $450,000,000 Buffalo-to-New York through highway which the state Democrats have always insisted should be deferred until school and hospital needs are met. O'Dwyer publicly gave his approval and sulked afterward in private.

Once Dewey did nip in the bud a development at Albany which might have embarrassed the Democratic O'Dwyer. Early last March a liberal Queens Republican, Senator Seymour Halpern, introduced a resolution in the state Senate calling for a state investigation of the "national crime syndicate." Halpern said information brought to his attention indicated that many underworld characters whose principal income was from illicit sources were going "legitimate" at the expense of decent business men. They were taking the millions they had made from bookmaking and the numbers racket and putting it into hotels, restaurants, night clubs, and real estate, outbidding business men who had only legal sources of income. Senator Halpern admitted that under present laws there might be no way to prosecute these underworld business men, but he thought the public was entitled to know what they were up to. The New York press gave Halpern's resolution considerable support, although Hearst's *Mirror* felt it necessary to comment that the proposed investigation would not be directed against the O'Dwyer administration.

At this point Halpern declared frankly that he wanted to look into the activities of Frank Costello first. That was enough. The Republican leaders in the legislature immediately announced that they would not go on any "fishing expedition." Dewey's office passed the word that Halpern's resolution was to get nowhere fast. The resolution died in committee.

WITH the activities of the gambling syndicates rapidly becoming a national scandal, the sporting fraternity is attempting to befuddle the issue with demands for legalized gambling. Betting, they argue, is a harmless lark, and everyone who wants to bet will do it somehow. Why not open pari-mutuel branch offices in every large city so that the state can obtain some of the money now

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being wagered illegally? The proposal is favored by several influential newspapers. Morally speaking, it is admittedly no worse to bet away from the tracks than to walk up to a two-dollar window, but legalized gambling has other effects which cannot be overlooked.

First, there is the immediate economic effect on the small wage-earner who throws away his money on races when the odds have been so juggled by the bookies that over the long pull he cannot possibly win. In New York some bookies get the suckers going and coming. When a man cannot pay his bet, they have a loan shark "lend" him the money, which he must then repay at exorbitant interest rates. Secondly, there is the long-range political effect. No politician, even a self-styled New Deal Democrat like O'Dwyer, can live up to his liberal pronouncements when so much of his time is devoted to protecting "special" interests. This poses a real problem for New York Democrats. The Republicans do not profess to be interested in social legislation.

Several times in recent months New York officials have taken an anti-liberal view of big issues. The taxi strike was broken by the police with the aid of City Hall and a once-progressive Brooklyn assemblyman who now works the other side of the street. When a Dutchess County Republican proposed that the state Assembly censure Dean Acheson and the State Department, the Democratic leader of the Assembly, Irwin Steingut of Brooklyn, did not know whether the party should support Acheson or not. He himself voted to censure.

The infiltration of the underworld and the breakdown of political morality are costing New York state its position of national leadership in the fight for enlightened social legislation and clean government. But the people are restive, as is attested by the fact that nearly 800,000 voters support the minority parties. In the end, the effect of the crime investigation may be to restore the initiative to independent voters. If nothing else is accomplished, the data that have already been uncovered show once more that corrupt government cannot be liberal government.

Report from Bonn

BY CAROLUS

Bonn, July

TWENTY-FIVE MILES down the Rhine from Bonn is Cologne, which on July 8 celebrated its nineteen-hundredth anniversary. Before the war Cologne was the third largest city in the German Reich; today it is West Germany's greatest ruin, still housing more than half a million people. It was founded by Roman legionaries and named Colonia Agrippina because Julia Agrippina, wife and mother of Roman emperors, was born within its walls. In modern times the city has been the metropolis of German Catholicism. Something of Rome seems still to linger there, whether it is in the pomp of the ecclesiastical processions or in the unbridled saturnalia of the Carnival. Both pious and pleasure-loving, the people of this Rhineland city bear the mark of its past.

Until the Nazis drove him out, Dr. Konrad Adenauer was the Mayor of Cologne. As West German Chancellor this stubborn seventy-four-year-old Rhenish Catholic has a consuming ambition to rebuild Cologne and reinstate German Catholicism in the high place from which it was toppled by Martin Luther and by Bismarck. What Berlin once was for Bismarck's Protestant, Prussian-dominated Germany, Cologne is now for the fifty million inhabitants of the Catholic West.

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's *correspondent in West Germany.*

The city's spiritual head is Cardinal Frings, whose nephew recently married the Chancellor's daughter. High Commissioner McCloy and Lewis Douglas, the American ambassador to London, are also related to Adenauer by marriage. It seems to be in the cards that the Chancellor and his big-business backers will be able to make West Germany the leader of the bloc of Catholic states known as the European Union, which is to stretch from Sicily to Calais, is based on the German-French-Belgian-Luxembourg coal-and-steel trust, and has been made manifest in the Schuman Plan. That the financial power of the United States will supply the cement for the union is shown by the selection of Dr. Krekler of the I. G. Farben trust as the first German consul general in the United States.

Adenauer's great opponent, Dr. Schumacher, leader of the Social Democrats, has rightly rejected European Union, dubbing it *Europa Aktiengesellschaft* (stock company). And the growing coolness toward the Schuman Plan in British Conservative circles proves that the far-reaching plans of the West German industrialists are no secret. In the great debate on the Schuman Plan in the British Parliament even such a zealous advocate of European federation as the Labor member Richard Crossman felt obliged to repeat a conversation he had had with a German diplomat stationed in London. According to the official stenographic report in *Hansard*, Crossman quoted the German diplomat as follows:

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"After all, we ran France for five years. We are not going to worry about the terms [of the Schuman Plan]. We will sign first and then change them."

On that hot July evening when the citizens of Cologne celebrated its founding, singing the *Tedeum laudamus* in the Cathedral Square and watching the fireworks over the river, they were suddenly seized with a spasm of fear. As the rockets rushed skyward and, bursting, sprayed the city with showers of colored light, the gaping ruins of churches and houses seemed to be on fire and the smoke of the exploding chemicals to billow out of their cracks and windows. A shudder ran through the crowds. Women became hysterical and shrieked: "It is like it was before, on that terrible May 31 when we had the great airplane attack and all Cologne was in flames." Their mood spoiled, the people began to talk of Korea and war.

"North Korea and South Korea," say the Germans; "it is like West Germany and East Germany. The same thing may happen here." The swift intervention of the United States calmed their fears somewhat, and they have no doubt that the American troops will be victorious as soon as reinforcements have landed. Nevertheless, they are sick at heart, dreading lest the Korean struggle develop into a third world war. Those who have money are hoarding food and other supplies. The defensive works started by the American occupation forces along the Rhine are viewed with greater sympathy. Streets, bridges, and even the rock of the Lorelei in the Rhine have been mined. "The Rhine will be Western Europe's first line of defense against Russian aggression," say the West Germans. "What will then become of us?"

THE Communists suffer new defeats every time the people go to the polls. In the recent elections in the industrial centers of the Ruhr and the Rhineland their former vote, small as it was, was cut in half. They have been reduced to a mere splinter group torn by internal feuds and purges. Russia is behind them, however, and if the Red Army moves they will be the masters. When the West Germans contemplate such a possibility, their knees knock together, and they rush to sign the peace petitions which the Communists circulate.

Meanwhile the Bonn government and the industrialists who boss it will try to exploit the new international situation to the best of their ability. If they could profit from the cold war beyond their wildest hopes, what opportunities may not be opened up by Korea? Remilitarization, lifting of international controls over Ruhr industry, political and economic equality, the Schuman Plan and European Union—everything is possible with the help of God and Korea. When Adenauer hastened to request a security guaranty, he was told that an attack on West Germany like that on South Korea would be met by the United States in the same way. Thereupon the Chancellor contented himself with asking for a police force of 25,000 men. Who wouldn't need a state police in an economy based on exploitation of the workers, in which the whole burden of a lost war is borne by the poor, there is no limit on profits, 1,700,000 persons are unemployed, and a combination of high prices and low wages is forcing living standards lower and lower? No wonder that the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, organ of the upper German middle class, said in its leading editorial on July 10:

> There are still high-placed politicians in the West who smugly insist that Germany shall not be permitted to have a Minister of Foreign Affairs or embassies in other countries before September at the earliest. In Germany, even last spring, people were unable to see any political justification for such an attitude. And today they regard it as pure stubbornness. When we are now informed that we cannot hope to increase our steel production or start up our shipbuilding industry, we cannot help feeling that in some powerful circles it seems more important to throttle German industrial competition than to create "one world." Obviously we have not succeeded in making the other nations realize that Germany is not actuated solely by selfish reasons in asking for full membership in a Western union. Seldom have the interests of one country so paralleled those of the Continent, indeed, of the whole free world. Germany has declared many times in the last few years that the continued division of the world into victors and vanquished was extremely dangerous, and who can say that it was wrong?

The writer who gives such friendly advice to the Western powers practiced his trade for twelve years under Hitler; he and his colleagues rejoiced at Hitler's conquests and prospered greatly. If now the same people are in the saddle in Germany and posing as fighters for freedom and civilization, Moscow must take a good share of the blame. The men in the Kremlin sank very low when they spread the fairy tale that crops in East Germany were being destroyed by beetles dropped from American airplanes and sanctioned the story with an official note of protest. And the contagion of their baseness has spread to both East and West Germany. Farther afield it has produced people like Arthur Koestler, James Burnham, Sidney Hook, and other renegade Communists, who met in Berlin at the end of June in a Congress for Cultural Freedom. The love for Moscow formerly felt by these disappointed men has been transformed into such blind hate that the very words "Social Democrat" and "Labor Party" have become an abomination to them. According to Koestler, socialism and capitalism are worthless concepts inherited from a past century; social justice is an empty phrase. Their insatiable desire to be revenged on Stalin is only furthering Soviet Russia's ambitions and damaging the cause of

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peace and freedom. That the defense of Europe in the event of a third world war is not only a military but a social problem has never occurred to these former Communists, though it is clear to men like General Marshall and to many American Congressmen.

BESIDE THE POINT

[This department is glad to print another contribution from its roving reporter, Joseph Wood Krutch.—M. M. and R. B.]

O'DWYER Burn Salved on Film Stinging N. Y." So ran a recent headline on the front page of *Variety*. Translated, it means that a company which made a film in our city has agreed to modify what the Mayor thought was an uncomplimentary picture of metropolitan life. "A prologue to the film," said *Variety*, "will impress on the audience that the pic is purely fictional in its theme."

I am glad that the Mayor—who seems to ruffle very easily—has been smoothed down, and I feel safer now that audiences are being told that fiction is fiction. But I pity the movies, which are rapidly approaching the point where all the action will have to take place in mythical kingdoms and every character who seems to be anything less than the just man made perfect will have to be either a citizen of an Iron Curtain country or preferably, since the industry is still dickering with Russia in the effort to sell it some films, both stateless and not recognizably of any race, creed, color, or national origin.

If I were a pundit allowed to write leading editorials I should probably bear down heavily on a sinister aspect of the situation. As a result of the film company's eagerness to make amends, "peace reigned again in Hollywood's relations with the city's chief executive *after O'Dwyer had threatened to end cooperation with visiting camera crews*." There, I should say, is a hidden censorship for you. Say only nice things about us or you can't play in our back yard. Just how many steps is it from that sort of attitude to the practice of countries which expel newspaper correspondents if they use anything but rose-colored copy paper?

"O'Dwyer's resentment stemmed from sequences which depicted cops and nurses stealing narcotics from a hospital and selling them elsewhere. While Universal did not identify the hospital or city, the Mayor feared the film would give the public a low impression of New York." Seems to me I read in the papers not so long ago that hospital employees had been arrested for doing just what the film "depicts." But that is no doubt irrelevant. If you must deal with unpleasant subjects, at least put some palm trees around so people will not think it is New York. And if Los Angeles objects to that, why there is always Ruritania—which is safer than Bulgaria or San Marino, as Bernard Shaw found out when he set the scene of "Arms and the Man" in Bulgaria because he was sure no one there would ever hear of the play, and then it got so famous that the Bulgarians were fit to be tied.

Since I am not a pundit but only a by-the-wayer, perhaps I had best confine myself to something less weighty and observe only that it seems to me people are getting awfully touchy these days. No doubt it is but one of the minor symptoms of the general *malaise*, but there are very few professions, religions, businesses, or hobbies —to say nothing of nationalities—which can be even gently spoofed without indignant protests from both individuals and, frequently, associations for the promotion of something or other. The Pat-said-to-Mike kind of joke is dangerous stuff nowadays on stage or screen or radio. College professors, drama critics, and Southerners are still fair game, but there are not many other groups that are. And I am not sure whether extreme thinness of skin is a really healthy sign.

That New York, the capital of the world, should worry because a moving picture represents it as, among other things, the Big Wicked City par excellence is the last straw. Thousands of us felt really grown up for the first time when we came to live here, partly because New York's indifference to libel was the ultimate proof that its greatness was beyond question. Provincial towns had booster clubs and quarreled with their neighbors over which had the largest population or was growing fastest. Philadelphia and Boston had a care for their reputations. Even Chicago couldn't quite believe that it was unquestionably the second city in wealth and size. But New York could afford to make no obstreperous claims. Let Boston call itself the hub of the universe and East Orange, New Jersey, maintain that it was preeminently "the city of homes." New York was New York, and there was an end to the matter. Did any mayor of the nineties write Charles A. Hoyt to protest that if he insisted on dragging a reference to our fair city into "A Trip to China Town," then he must mention Fifth Avenue or Central Park and not "the Bowery, the Bowery, where they say such things and they do such things, and I'll never go there any more." Did anyone care if for fifty years the popular dramatist of the ten-twenty-thirties represented New York as the place where Beautiful Sewing Machine Girls were ruined? But in 1950 the Mayor wants everybody told that a movie is fiction and that the scene is not here.

Please, Mr. O'Dwyer, be our age if not yours. You are not the mayor of either Squedunk or Moscow. Look after what happens in our hospitals, not after what happens in movies. And remember that there is at least some element of truth in what Dr. Johnson said to over-sensitive writers: "No man was ever written down except by himself."

J. W. K.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Secret Doings

BEHIND CLOSED DOORS. By Rear Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias (in Collaboration with Ladislas Farago). G. P. Putnam Sons. $3.75.

PUTNAM'S has a penchant for sensational books about secret doings. As a former Deputy Chief of the Office of Naval Intelligence, Admiral Zacharias is a "natural" for the Putnam stable. Having given us "Secret Missions" in 1946, he has now come forth from "Behind Closed Doors," written in collaboration with Ladislas Farago. This new work is subtitled "The Secret History of the Cold War," and according to the jacket cover it lifts "the lid of secrecy which has been clamped down on the boiling caldron of international diplomacy." So the curtain rises on a darkened stage, with a jolly witches' brew bubbling in the caldron.

Because of the cloak-and-dagger garb in which "Behind Closed Doors" is tricked out, I opened the covers with strong predispositions in its disfavor. I am pleased to report that the book appears to be a sober and conscientious piece of work, and that its perusal is by no means unrewarding to the student of international affairs. "We look upon this book as a lengthy intelligence report," say the authors. They have made effective use of the intelligence sources available to private persons and have marshaled their material well, and their underlying political approach to international issues is, by and large, temperate and well considered.

Roughly the first third of the book is devoted to the post-war evolution of Russian strategy vis-à-vis the non-Communist world. The authors date the outbreak of the "cold war" on January 5, 1945, when Stalin, over Roosevelt's objections, recognized the Lublin Committee as the government of Poland. The period from early 1945 to late 1948 is described as "years of indecision," characterized by increasing Russian suspicion and hostility. The Kasenkina incident and American hardness in negotiating the issues underlying the Berlin blockade finally caused Stalin to summon an extraordinary seminar of military and economic experts to analyze and report to the Politburo on the comparative strengths and weaknesses of East and West. On January 28, 1949, according to the authors, the Politburo, in a momentous and protracted session, decided to face a "showdown with the West," and agreed upon a flexible timetable under which matters will be brought to a head sometime between 1952 and 1956.

Later in the book we are told that the issue is not likely to be drawn by a sudden all-out Russian assault against the West. Rather a constant drive toward particular Soviet objectives—Persia, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Sweden—will, according to Stalin, ultimately provoke an American attack by air in which atom bombs will be used against Soviet cities and other centers of strength. Strategic bombardment from the air will fail to be decisive, and the Soviet Union, after a prolonged and devastating war, will finally triumph by means of a "strategic counter-offensive."

The authors' original material is woven into a running account of international developments during the past five years. Several chapters are devoted to Soviet machinations in Asia, Western Europe, Turkey, the Middle East, and Yugoslavia. An analysis of Russian strength, including chapters on the deployment of the Soviet armed forces and of the Cominform leaders, the role of various top military figures, and Russian progress in atomic armaments, rounds out the reportorial core of the book. The concluding chapters on American policy to counter the Russian menace are thought-provoking but markedly less successful.

Much of the narrative of Kremlin plottings and plannings is very specific as to time and place, highly graphic, and told as by an eyewitness. The authors declare in the appendix on their sources that much of this detail is derived from documents and information furnished by "237 refugees from behind the Iron Curtain," including "senior officers of the Red Army and navy, atomic scientists, outstanding economists, diplomats, and officials from virtually every branch of the Soviet bureaucracy." In gauging the authenticity of this material the individual reader can rely on little except his own hunches. The evaluation of information derived from interrogations is, as every intelligence officer should know, a very tricky undertaking. The yield from sparse and scattered questioning is likely to be highly unreliable unless it can be checked against other sources. It is necessary to be constantly on guard against the possible pique, vanity, ignorance, or erroneous judgment of the subject, to say nothing of enemy agents and would-be double-agents.

How astute the Admiral and his collaborator have been in threading their way through this treacherous maze I can only surmise. For me, a large part of the material on the developments of Soviet grand strategy has the ring of truth. It has always seemed to me that the popular, and frequently official, conception of World War III as opening with an atomic bombardment of New York or Washington is a naive stereotype, and that the immediate threat lies in the "borderland" countries such as Germany, Yugoslavia, and—Korea. Official thinking seems now to be veering toward this view.

The least plausible part of the book is the chapter on Soviet atomic experimentation. According to the authors, the first Russian atom bomb was produced in an underground laboratory in the Alagos Mountains of the Caucasus, near the resting place of Noah's Ark. There have been two atomic explosions —an accidental one in October, 1948, and a controlled one in July, 1949. The material is sensationally specific, but the sources strike me as too "thin" to be relied upon. Nor am I impressed with the plausibility of such statements as that, frustrated in their search for the "critical mass" of uranium needed to effect a detonation, Stalin's scientists "tried to construct an A-bomb of their own, with a spin or angular momentum in which the missing link of the 'critical mass' could be expediently disregarded."

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More excusable are several errors of detail. I find it hard to believe that the Polish army consists of so few as 150,000 officers and men, or that so many as 10,000 of its officers are Russians detailed from the Red Army. The Admiral's estimate of German U-boat strength at the outbreak of the war—"hardly more than forty U-boats, of which only ten to twelve were operational"—is far on the low side. We now know from the German captured documents that Germany's clandestine naval rearmament had progressed so rapidly that by October 1, 1935, about six months after the repudiation of the Versailles Treaty, twelve submarines with trained personnel were already available. And the official German naval historian, Vice-Admiral Kurt Assmann, has recently told us—in the July, 1950, issue of *Foreign Affairs*—that "on September 3, 1939, the German navy had a total of fifty-seven U-boats, of which forty-six—a very high percentage—were ready for immediate employment."

It is unfortunate that the concluding portion on American policy, with a ten-point "action program for peace," contains several glaring errors of logic and judgment. For example, Point eight proposes that the United States enter into military alliances with Turkey, Israel, and Transjordan so that we can construct our "major air overseas base" there, and thus achieve a "military *fait accompli*" which will "checkmate" the Soviet menace by neutralizing the Baku oil fields in the "soft underbelly" of Russia. Having accomplished this hardly conciliatory *coup*, we are then, according to Point nine, to request the Russians, *by agreement*, to withdraw their military forces from all the East European satellites!

In the very next paragraph we are admonished to combat the Iron Curtain by dropping our own.

> We should cut our ties with the Soviet Union to a practicable minimum. We should withdraw our newspaper correspondents from the Soviet capital and allow no space in our newspapers to advertise Soviet intentions or achievements. We should withhold from Russia information about ourselves, about our intentions and achievements in a similar manner. Let her then taste the bitter fruits of isolation and suffer its consequences.

This stuff is at best jejune; it is tantamount to punishing the Russians by imitating them. The most basic objective of the cold war is to insure ourselves against just such an outcome.

Happily, this aberration is not characteristic of the book as a whole, which at many points manifests a liberal and enlightened point of view. It is gratifying that the authors have not succumbed to the false lure of German rearmament. It is reassuring to have an admiral forcefully condemn the wave of ex-Communist accusations that has accompanied McCarthyism:

> At the time of this writing the nation is subjected to vicious and groundless attacks against the integrity of the government. . . . Since most of the attacks come from ex-Communists who profess to have changed, we suspect that at least in some cases the change is feigned and that the man or woman is under instructions from Moscow to undermine national unity through baseless accusations, and to detract attention from current espionage by concentrating on its past cases.

It is, finally, most refreshing to read the eloquent warning against the ostrich-like passion for secrecy which has done the country so much injury:

> Still today, in our own democracy, vital decisions affecting the future of our people are made by men of limited responsibility behind the tightly closed doors of diplomatic drawing-rooms and military headquarters. . . . In a genuine and truly popular democracy like ours . . . secrecy must have a clearly defined meaning and place. In the final analysis, it is the gravest challenge to the institution of democracy itself.

To which prudent and wise words this reviewer can only add his "Amen."

TELFORD TAYLOR

A Cure for All Ills

DIANETICS: THE MODERN SCIENCE OF MENTAL HEALTH. By L. Ron Hubbard. Hermitage House. $4.

ORDINARILY, a new book which offers a generalized cure for all the ills of mankind—guaranteed, within twenty hours—would not be reviewed in these columns. This new book on "Dianetics," by L. Ron Hubbard, however, is in a class by itself. In the first place, the author seems honestly to believe what he has written. His own powerful conviction, in turn, seems to have convinced many others—apparently intelligent people who would be inclined to toss aside a book of this type.

Hubbard offers his reader the guaranty of a method which never fails to cure all emotional—neurotic and psychotic—disorders as well as a variety of physical illnesses, from the common cold to cancer. He describes his dianetic method as follows:

> The creation of dianetics is a milestone for man comparable to his discovery of fire and superior to his inventions of the wheel and arch. . . . The hidden source of all psychosomatic ills and human aberration has been discovered, and skills have been developed for their invariable cure.

He then goes on to describe how the method has never failed in the 270 cases which he has treated. What is even better, however, is that he offers the reader the opportunity to perform the same feats of therapy on the various members of his family and friends, who in turn can do likewise for him. No outside help of any kind, professional or otherwise, is necessary for the reader of this book.

No case histories are offered to substantiate his claims, nor is there documentation of any kind to indicate that any previous thinker, medical or otherwise, ever made a significant contribution to the subject of human behavior. The system is fool-proof, and any inadequate results are due to the improper understanding of the method.

It is difficult to describe the method without introducing the author's own special vocabulary, which would take too much space. The dianetic method seems to be based on the use of an auditor who helps the harried individual to relive certain traumatic experiences, especially those related to his intra-uterine life. These traumatic episodes are called "engrams," and the clearing of them allows the individual to find liberation. No special training is necessary on the part of the therapist, and there seems to be a constant verbal repetition of certain experiences until they lose their disruptive force. The whole method is based on an obvious analogy in which the human mind is compared to the electronic calculating machine, with a theoretical use of many of the concepts of cybernetics.

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Norbert Wiener, however, is not quoted.

The actual method combines the techniques of free association, emotional catharsis, abreaction, and hypnosis—which the author vigorously denies. But it is doubtful whether these are the crucial factors in his therapeutic results; for I grant that many of his patients have improved under treatment. If so, how do we explain the effectiveness of such therapy? First, he offers faith and conviction in the goodness of man, and an absolute guaranty for the resolution of man's problems and illnesses. This he accomplishes without any religious connotation and within a "scientific" framework. It no longer becomes necessary to turn to God, a political leader, a physician, or a loved one to find a resolution of insecurities or dependencies.

Secondly, he offers a therapeutic relationship with another human being who will listen to the problems of the harried patient. This is always a profoundly effective therapeutic experience, whether performed in a psychiatrist's office or not. I am sure that many of the devotees of dianetics have never previously experienced the tremendous lift which comes when one shares painful experiences with a sympathetic and helpful listener. I am sure that in practical application many a husband—or wife, child, or parent—may make emotional contact for the first time with his "loved one" under the artificial circumstances of dianetic therapy; and get help regardless of the nature or validity of the verbalizations.

A third source of reassurance and comfort through dianetic therapy is its continuous repetitive emphasis on SURVIVAL. This word is used constantly in capitals as the basic "dynamic" of healthy adaptation and as the goal of all human behavior. For a world frightened by atomic-bomb destruction, with limited faith in the after world, no more hypnotic slogan could have been used to entrance people and to allay their fears.

From a psychoanalytic point of view, one is willing to overlook the fact that Hubbard presents no conception of human relationships, that he has no psychodynamic point of view. One can also forgive him for encouraging neurotic people to avoid all professional sources of help, and even for deluding people into expecting salvation through guaranteed solutions for their problems. After all, there have been many other "faiths," movements, or special therapies which have failed to fulfil these criteria and have still helped people where the experts have failed.

The real and, to me, inexcusable danger in dianetics lies in its conception of the amoral, detached, 100 per cent efficient mechanical man—superbly free-floating, unemotional, and unrelated to anything. *This is the authoritarian dream*, a population of zombies, free to be manipulated by the great brains of the founder, the leader of the inner manipulative clique. Fortunately for us this is an unattainable dream, on the rocks of which every great authoritarian leader has sooner or later met his fate. We have learned by this time that a human being cannot exist without effective human relationships, which must fulfil some of his healthy emotional dependencies; and that mechanical, detached self-sufficiency does not exist except in a psychotic state. Healthy dependencies cannot exist without some type of reciprocal give-and-take, or democratic liaison —otherwise, hostilities sooner or later disrupt the inequitable arrangement. In these basic psychodynamic truths lies our own salvation.

MILTON R. SAPIRSTEIN

Milton—All the Facts

THE LIFE RECORDS OF JOHN MILTON. Volume I, 1608-1639. Edited by J. Milton French. Rutgers University Press. $5.

IN THIS first of four projected volumes Professor French establishes the scope and scale of his truly monumental study of Milton's life. His intention clearly is to omit no fact either direct or tangential in its importance. Volume I, dealing with childhood, which offers fewest facts suitable for chronicle, and youth, covers thirty of Milton's sixty-four years. The remaining volumes, therefore, should provide amply for the presentation of the tumultuous years of public life and the flowering of poetic genius with the same fulness of fact that marks the first.

Such thoroughness of treatment suggests a late repetition of David Masson's classic work. But Professor French has written a very different and in many ways a much more usable book. He does not present a biography in narrative. Instead he records, year by year, month by month, and day by day, every known fact, and all the significant conjectures, of Milton's life history. Each entry is thoroughly documented from both primary sources and trustworthy secondary ones. The reader has before him, therefore, not only the facts themselves but also the evidence which justifies their acceptance. Much of this substantiation of fact, it may be said, comes from the numerous scholarly papers and monographs Dr. French has published during the last twenty-five years. For good measure the author includes the false inferences drawn from known facts as well as statements based on ignorance, spite, or hostility. These he corrects or refutes firmly but without rancor.

"The Life Records" is primarily a work of reference. As such it is of the highest importance, for though additional details of Milton's career may still be discovered in remote or unsuspected places, the book, by its dignity, its copiousness, its obvious dedication to truth, gives the reader a sense of profound confidence. Apart from its importance as a work of research scholarship, however, the book has other values. It will interest the thoughtful reader who has delight in poetry for its own sake, since in its pages he can trace the seemingly prosaic happenings and experiences that brought into spiritual and artistic being one who was at once great man and supreme poet.

The work is so full of good things that it is perhaps churlish to complain of omissions or excesses of zeal. One does feel, however, that in a book so vast in scope space should have been found for details of the poet's ancestry. Surely the father's line, and perhaps even the mother's, could have been traced with interesting results. On the other hand, one must question the appropriateness of the extensive records of the father's rather complicated business affairs. The fact that the elder Milton was an important influence in his son's life, and that they engaged jointly in many financial transactions, hardly justifies the inclusion of many tedious documents which add nothing to our knowledge of the poet. In his own "Milton

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in Chancery" the author has dealt with these matters in considerable detail, and it would seem that simple references to that work would serve in the larger book.

The volume offers much that is new or little known, such as the detailed description of the poet's birthplace. It also presents a notable synthesis of the knowledge accumulated through three centuries. All students and readers of Milton owe the author a great debt for this rich garner of the multitudinous sheaves of Milton scholarship.

DONALD A. ROBERTS

Fiction in the Dog Days

TWO ADOLESCENTS: THE STORIES OF AGOSTINO AND LUCA. By Alberto Moravia. Farrar, Straus and Company. $2.75.

THE DEAD STAY YOUNG. By Anna Seghers. Little, Brown and Company. $4.

THE SMALL HOURS OF THE NIGHT. By Timothy Angus Jones. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.75.

"TWO ADOLESCENTS" is by far the best new fiction to come my way this summer. It is also the least pretentious. Quietly and with the seeming effortlessness of the artist who knows exactly what he wants to do, Moravia re-creates traumas common enough to adolescence but realized in terms of the individuals on whom they descend. "Agostino" is about deracination and initiation. A thirteen-year-old boy learns that the mother he adores is capable of love quite different from that which she has shown him. In part he arrives at this knowledge and at the beginnings of self-knowledge through young hooligans who are, to his shame, unwilling to take him into their gang. The desire of the innocent and ignorant and gently bred to be accepted by an older and, in the most worldly sense, a wiser group whose values are not those in which he has been brought up is frequent in adolescence. I know of no recent fiction in which it is so poignantly stated as here against a finely drawn background of sea and summer.

"Luca," a terrifying study in neurotic nausea, presents the more intricate case of a boy of fifteen who, "at an age when sensitiveness is awake and consciousness still sleeping," revolts against the imposition upon his own will of the will of others. It takes the form of systematic and willing self-destruction, a pursuit of death which leads him to reject in turn school, family, possessions, food, and sex. Without ever being explicit, Moravia is attacking those upper-class *mores* which sometimes seem specially designed to foster such collapse: "Why did he move his legs, why did he avoid being run over by a bus, why did he stop and rearrange the pack of books under his arm, why did he pull his hat down on to his forehead?" At the height of dissociation his body betrays him into delirium; he is brought back to a desire to live by a "final initiation not merely into physical love but also into that more general love for all things."

On those complex themes Moravia plays with an astonishing delicacy. He is detached from his subject, sometimes even clinical. But these are not simply studies in adolescent breakdown. He takes a neurosis as James took a situation; he records its every shift in pulse and its entire context, although there is a minimum of furnishing in these stories, which depend, most of all, on symbols at once dense and spare. They are inconspicuously constructed. The logic with which Luca sets about compassing his own end, the duel between his will to death and the instinct which saves him, is completely engrossing. (It is also reminiscent of the tortured reasonings of the heroes of Italo Svevo.) Moravia's power lies in the detachment which makes his writing so clear—nothing is redundant—and in the unobtrusive compassion which envelops it. He conveys no explicit message save that cited above from the end of "Luca." This is what adolescence can be like, he is saying, and having said it perfectly he stops.

Miss Seghers too has brought compassion to her careful account of life in Germany between 1918 and 1945. This is about as much as can be said for her. "The Dead Stay Young" is a panoramic novel which in trying to report on too many levels of German society grows prolix and boring. It is packed with information which remains information. The author *does* make one understand why people joined the Nazis or the Communists. (The dice are weighted heavily on the Communist side.) Everything exists on one level of monotony, as if the novel were exclusively an act of the will. Even the horrors and the moral numbness are blurred, and the characters themselves disappear in endless political discussion. In an effort to be exhaustive and, so far as possible, dispassionate Miss Seghers has destroyed the impact of the evil she presents.

"The Small Hours of the Night," by a son of the author of the incomparable "Serena Blandish," is elevated, mildly amusing hammock reading, although it is seriously intended, an effort "to make something permanent out of the present." Obviously autobiographical, it strives to record the bedazzlement and succeeding disillusionment of a very

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young man, a theme central to fiction at least since Stendhal and, so far, inexhaustible. If such writing is to have power it must be written, as Proust wrote of Odette and Oriane de Guermantes, out of the tranquillity which succeeds disillusion. Mr. Jones writes only out of disillusion, though he is far too well-bred to be bitter. He never manages to re-create the glamour which, he assures us, is exuded by his Balkan princess and her corrupt entourage. The understatement is so complete that the emotions attendant on such an experience are stifled, and all that emerges is the meticulous record of a dull round of mild debauchery which, as presented in the novel, could not possibly preoccupy so sensitive and intelligent a person as the hero for half an evening, let alone several hectic weeks. The experience which Mr. Jones has set himself to re-create is central, in multitudinous forms, to the lives of most human beings. It is also one of the most difficult to present. Glamour, charm—these intangibles are likely to evaporate in verbal assertions. Tom Hopkinson's sadly neglected "Mist on the Tagus" (1947), an equally modest book, was a far more successful variation on the same theme. ERNEST JONES

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Books in Brief

S. WEIR MITCHELL: NOVELIST AND PHYSICIAN. By Ernest Earnest. University of Pennsylvania Press. $3.50. S. Weir Mitchell is a curious figure, who, one thinks, perhaps wrongly, ought to be more interesting than Mr. Earnest succeeds in making him. His medical achievements were various and in the field of psychiatry of a pioneering sort: he was the first to diagnose the nervous breakdown, invented the rest cure, and to some degree made use of the "psychosomatic" approach. Mr. Earnest makes a rather half-hearted case for two or three of his novels, in which anticipations of this sort appear, but about the best he can find to say of him as a novelist is that he was more adult than some of his minor contemporaries—Owen Wister or F. Hopkinson Smith. He had a streak of inordinate vanity, and one gets the impression of a rather second-rate personality behind the façade of scientific, social, and literary busyness.

EDMUND PENDLETON GAINES. By James W. Silver. Louisiana State University Press. $4.50. The biography of an impetuous, eccentric frontier general who surveyed the Natchez Trace, captured Aaron Burr, and fought Indians from Florida to Texas, although never with half the heat he put into his feuds with Jackson and General Scott. An interesting footnote to frontier history.

MODERN REPUBLIC. By Spencer Pinkham. Corwin. $2.50. The author argues that to preserve democracy we must insure economic security to our citizens; that this necessitates greater flexibility in our government and a more powerful and responsive executive. To achieve these ends without risking a dictatorship he proposes that the President should hold office until he dies, resigns, or until a new President is elected; and that the House of Representatives should have right by majority vote to demand a presidential election at any time. In other words, the President would be elected as at present but would hold office only so long as his party controlled the lower house. This provocative little book is frankly a plea; the advantages of the author's proposal are enticingly set forth; the disadvantages ignored.

WE SURVIVED. As told to Eric H. Boehm. Yale. $3.75. The stories of fourteen men and women—Jews, Communists, and anti-Nazis—who lived as outcasts or enemies within Germany and yet managed to survive. What gives the book especial value is the wide range of experiences covered and the convincing simplicity of the narratives.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

A NUMBER of years ago, when I wrote that I did not find Mozart's Quintet K.425 for piano and winds to be one of his impressive works, those who disagreed were able to quote his own opinion that it was "the best work I have ever composed." I interpreted this as an expert craftsman's estimate of his craftsmanship—in this case his writing for the instruments; and I agreed that the textures of sound were a delight to the ear. Now a Mercury LP dubbing (MG-10031) of a French recording of the work has provided an occasion to listen to it again; and again I have found the first Allegro inane—except that this time I was aware that in the exposition, and a second time in the recapitulation, the inanity ends in a breathtaking passage of successive up-rushing scales to sustained notes which create a texture with wonderful harmonic progressions; and this time, also, I was aware of the wonderful episodes which make the slow movement outstanding. The performance is by Yvette Grimaud, who plays with the usual on-the-surface smoothness of French pianists playing Mozart, an excellent oboist, Pierlot, and clarinettist, Delecluse, but a technically inadequate horn-player, and a bassoonist whose tone is like a saxophone's—all under the musical direction of Fernand Oubradous, who hasn't done his job well. There are some awkward joints in the

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dubbing; and surfaces are gritty. The Serenade K.185 on the reverse side is mostly charming and lovely, and is well performed by a chamber orchestra under Oubradous, who commits the error of failing to interpolate the cadenza that is led up to in the Andante. Its recorded sound needs reduction of treble.

Mozart's fine Sonata K.378 for violin and piano is well played on a Columbia record by Isaac Stern and Alexander Zakin—with especially beautiful ensemble playing in the slow movement. The sound of the violin is brash. On the reverse side is Stern's previously issued performance of the uninteresting Haydn Violin Concerto in C.

Haydn's Quartet Opus 54 No. 2, one of those in which the Haydn mind reaches incandescence, and the fine Opus 77 No. 1 are well played by the Kroll Quartet on an Allegro record (AL-58). Treble must be reduced, and bass stepped up.

The Haydn Trios for two flutes and cello on another Allegro record (AL-48) I find uninteresting. The performances by Philip Kaplan, Lois Schafer, and Samuel Mayes are unsubtle; surfaces are gritty.

The Couperin Concert No. 6 (No. 2 of "Les Gouts réunis"), well played by J. G. Rampel, flute, with a chamber orchestra under Oubradous on a Mercury record (MG-15007), is graceful and charming. On the reverse side is an acidulously engaging Poulenc Suite française for piano, based on some of Claude Gervaise's French dance melodies, and well played by Jean Germain. Surfaces are not always quiet.

And the HMV recording of the Schnabel-Fournier performance of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 102 No. 1 that I wrote about some months ago—with Schnabel's wonderful realization of the piano part, and beautiful playing also by Fournier—has been issued by RCA Victor.

A Columbia recording which I expected a great deal of and which proved disappointing is the one of Musorgsky's Songs and Dances of Death sung by Jennie Tourel with Leonard Bernstein at the piano. I was amazed and chagrined right at the start by the fact that two artists as intelligent and enterprising as these should have used the Rimsky-Korsakov version instead of going back to the Musorgsky original. And while Tourel's singing is beautiful and expressive the performances are made excessively portentous—by slow tempos, as in the Lullaby, but above all by Bernstein's over-emphatic and obtrusive piano-playing. What makes this worse is that he plays a piano which is shockingly out of tune. On the reverse side is Ravel's "Scheherazade" sung by Tourel with the Columbia Symphony under Bernstein.

Another Columbia record offers one of those collections of small pieces that should not be put on one LP record together—including Beethoven's "In Questa Tomba Oscura," three good songs by Franz, Falla's Seguidille, Foster's "Ah! May the Red Rose Live Always," and a few Negro spirituals—sung for the most part very beautifully by Carol Brice, contralto, with lifeless piano accompaniments by Jonathan Brice. The texts are not supplied.

On a Victor record is a beautiful performance of Debussy's "La Chevelure" by Nan Merriman, contralto (my 78 rpm copy has noisy defects). On another are an aria from Dvorak's "Rusalka," his lovely "Maiden's Lament," and his less consequential "Tune Your Fiddle, Gypsy," sung by Dorothy Maynor, whose singing is beautiful in "Maiden's Lament," but whose voice is strident from F sharp upward in the aria.

Of the five Schubert songs for male chorus recorded for Victor by Robert Shaw and his Chorale, "Sehnsucht" is very fine, "An den Frühling" and "Pastorella" are fair, and "Widerspruch" and "Ständchen" are less consequential. The singing of the chorus is superb; the solo singer Beatrice Krebs has a voice of poor quality with a bad tremolo.

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MILTON R. SAPIRSTEIN is a practicing psychoanalyst and the author of "Emotional Security."

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ERNEST JONES, of the English Department of Queens College, regularly reviews fiction for *The Nation*.

Letters to the Editors

Plot or Clarification?

Dear Sirs: I feel that *The Nation* has gone a little far in scenting conspiracy when it attacks the distinction between "civil rights" and "civil liberties" as part of a plot against the republic. This distinction, your editorial of July 22 says, has been developed "within the last three years." Actually the application of the term "civil rights" to questions of discrimination and segregation goes back at least to the Civil War. Your editorial writer can hardly have forgotten the Civil Rights acts, passed after that war and later eviscerated by the Supreme Court. President Truman, in appointing a Committee on Civil *Rights*, was not succumbing to the historical meaning of the term. I am sure that *The Nation* will at least agree that it would be unfair to imply that the writers who have made this distinction most forcibly, like Dr. Robert K. Carr and Milton Konvitz, are any less concerned about "civil liberties"—that is, about the liberties mentioned in the First Amendment—than about "civil rights."

I had always understood that it was a good idea to use different words when you were talking about different things. Surely freedom of conscience and expression, on the one hand, is different from freedom from segregation and discrimination, on the other. The use of different terms to describe different freedoms is a valuable contribution to clarity—a contribution which seems to me far to outweigh the exceedingly tenuous and metaphysical implications which your editorial tortured out of what is a convenient practical usage.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

Cambridge, Mass., July 20

Perlman Misinterpreted

Dear Sirs: Your editorial of July 22 entitled Rights and Liberties does Solicitor General Philip B. Perlman an injustice. In his speech before the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith at Chicago he did not adopt the distinction suggested between civil rights and civil liberties—that is, that civil rights are essentially those rights which the government should affirmatively safeguard while civil liberties are those which the individual asserts against government. On the contrary, such a distinction, he

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said, had been urged upon him, but he expressly refused to concern himself with it, declaring that it was the "duty of a free democratic government affirmatively to safeguard not only civil rights but civil liberties in their broadest sense" and that that duty had been accepted by the Administration.

Earlier in the year in a speech before the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, the Solicitor General likewise rejected the distinction. . . . It conveys the notion, said the Solicitor General, that "as to 'civil rights,' government is the friend who gives protection; as to 'civil liberties,' however, government is or may be the foe against whom protection is necessary." He denied that "government plays such a schizophrenic role in relation to basic human freedoms."

Incidentally, you also state that it is significant that President Truman appointed a committee on civil rights rather than civil liberties. We must not forget, however, that among the civil rights which that committee considered as essential to the progress of American society were the four great freedoms: press, speech, religion, and assembly.

DAVID A. BRODY

Civil Rights Director, Washington Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Washington, July 25

Security in the Suburbs

Dear Sirs: May I add this to your collection of loyalty-oath hysterics? An acquaintance of mine, a college student, recently applied for a job as lifeguard at a swimming pool of a country club in the suburbs of Philadelphia. Besides the usual qualifications he was required to sign an oath stating that he was not a Communist, nor had been, nor intended to be, nor was in sympathy with, etc.

How much farther can we go?

RUTH HOFFMAN

Philadelphia, July 12

"Strictly for Freedom"

Dear Sirs: In freshman communications classes here at Michigan State College we often have students report on magazines. One of my students, a married veteran, at this moment first came upon *The Nation*, never having read any serious magazine before. In a way he was all thumbs, for the magazine as well as the report were new experiences for him.

But in his conclusion he suddenly forgot his notes and said what *The Nation* seemed to him to be. I think you will agree that you have been complimented as highly as is possible. "It's not for violence," he said, "but strictly for freedom. They want to get at wrongdoing through truth. They don't say anything without telling you why they say it."

KENNETH MACRORIE

East Lansing, Mich., July 28

Who Put It There?

Dear Sirs: I have just read Freda Kirchwey's editorial America's Asian Policy [*The Nation*, July 22]. She writes that the letters between Nehru and Stalin have not been published. That is true for the United States. However, in tuning in the BBC about ten days ago, I accidentally got Moscow. The speaker read all the messages in full, without comment.

Stalin said that China should be given a seat in the United Nations, that the Korean affair should be settled by the Security Council, and that the Korean *people* should be heard. It is obvious that an iron curtain exists. The question is, who put it there and who is keeping it there?

MELVIN ABSON

Syracuse, N. Y., July 27

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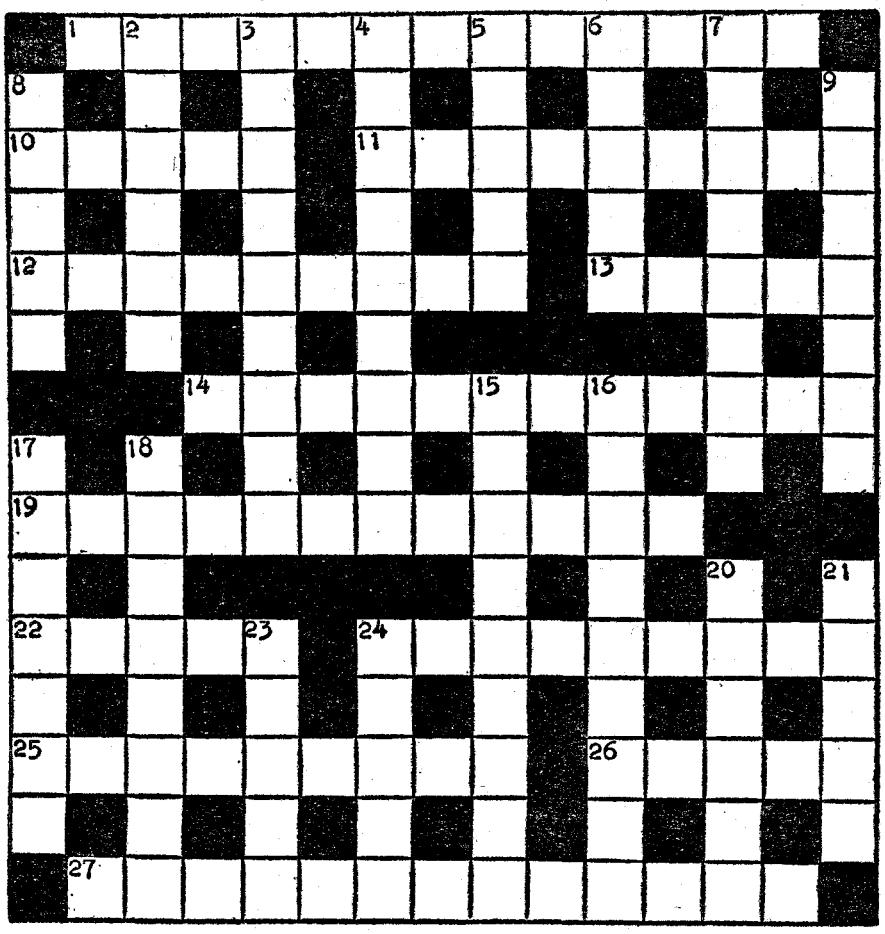
Crossword Puzzle No. 373

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Blue flag of Fringillidae? (6, 7)
10 It might need four winds and four strings, etc., to make it. (5)
11 Might be a near relative of John Hay! (9)
12 and 22. Antediluvian. (6, 3, 5)
13 Often old and the same as a place of business. (5)
14 Marked up and marked down. (7, 5)
19 There's usually an object in using a verb so. (12)
22 See 12.
24 Vital pains, down below the nose? (9)
25 In the middle of earth-shaking events. (9)
26 This man must be satisfied. (5)
27 The sort of piano to come to if you refer to "cuckoo" or "whippoorwill." (13)

DOWN

2 Inform someone of tiny fractures. (6)
3 Pauses to bury a Bulgar head down perhaps. (9)
4 Precious black-hearted sort of bard to find around. (5, 1'3)
5 Referring to title, this sugar is sometimes given to the government. (5)
6 The "pro" kind are full of objections. (5)
7 His is a telling profession. (8)
8 The crew's mission sometimes was accomplished when they were away. (5)
9 Scandinavian dish? Stew without tea! (7)
15 Listen—but only if the roof caves in. (9)
16 Startle into sudden activity. (9)
17 Take the chair? You'll find it easy if over this. (7)
18 The theory that Shakespeare is hammy? (8)
20 Hans is found up and around in China. (6)
21 A lot of interest is taken in this. (5)
23 Mendelssohn's must have been in August. (5)
24 Musical totem. (5)

—✤—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 372

ACROSS:—1 and 8 INFORMATION PLEASE; 9 UNBUTTON; 10 NOODLE; 11 TITANIC; 12 GENERAL; 14 and 26 BENGAL LANCER; 15 LAUGHTER; 17 and 22 STRAIGHT BOURBON; 20 POLITE; 24 MASSAGE; 27 OUTDOORS; 28 DROMEDARIES.

DOWN:—2 NEURALGIA; 3 ON TRIAL; 4 MEND; 5 TONNEAU; 6 OZONE; 7 and 1 INSIDE INFORMATION; 7 and 17 INSIDE STRAIGHT; 13 FLATS; 16 HOLY SMOKE; 18 TROJAN; 19 GROGRAM; 20 PLANTER; 21 TIGERS; 23 RACER; 25 BOND.

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